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DAN SMOOT

WAR AND POLITICS

On October 5, 1962, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, speaking at a campaign rally for the Democrat Party in Albuquerque, New Mexico, said that the United States jumping on Cuba would be like a big man beating his wife and then boasting about it.

Johnson said that Americans who advocate a blockade of Cuba have "more guts than brains," because, he explained, a blockade of Cuba could bring on World War III: "Stopping a Russian ship is an act of war," Johnson warned.⁽¹⁾

Seventeen days later — October 22 — Johnson, having left the political campaign trail, was in Washington, solemnly supporting President Kennedy's announcement of a "quarantine" against Cuba, which would include stopping, searching, and (if necessary) sinking Russian ships.

What international development had altered conditions in those seventeen days? None.

Nothing had changed; but Johnson and Kennedy, campaigning for new frontier congressional candidates, had discovered that the people were ready for political revolt against the incompetent and tyrannical Kennedy Administration, and its policies of appeasing and supporting communism.

Kennedy and Johnson, on their campaign tours, had met cold and hostile audiences. The President of the United States had even been booed, by outraged Americans, who, with placards and catcalls, had demanded to know why he was so ready and eager to crush Americans in the State of Mississippi, but was afraid to lift a finger to defend the vital security interests of the United States, against communism in Cuba.

Johnson and Kennedy (though they have revealed themselves quite incapable as executives of the greatest nation on earth) are astute politicians. A few days on the campaign trail

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revealed to them that the electorate was ready to reject the new frontier.

The “cold” — which was originally announced as the reason for Kennedy’s cancellation of his political speeches — was a case of cold feet at the prospect of losing congressional seats he was campaigning for.

Kennedy’s sudden and dramatic return to Washington was, obviously, an attempt to stampede the people into the senseless attitude that, regardless of “petty differences,” we must all stand solidly united behind our President and his Administration in “this grave crisis.”

And the cynical maneuver appears to be working. Senator Thomas K. Kuchel (California — Republican whip in the Senate) announced on October 23, that foreign policy is no longer an issue in the current political campaigns.⁽²⁾

The fact is that foreign policy should be *the paramount* issue in this campaign. It is the stupid, if not treacherous, handling of foreign policy that has brought us to our present dangerous impasse. If the American people do not soon elect a Congress which will force a total reversal of American foreign policy, we will never restore America as a free and independent Republic—and we will not avoid the catastrophe of another total war.

Senator Kuchel would be correct if he had said that foreign policy cannot be a valid campaign issue between “liberal” Republicans and new frontier Democrats, because Kennedy’s policy is precisely the policy that Eisenhower followed.

The American State Department helped communist Castro conquer Cuba during the Eisenhower Administration. The Kennedy Administration has helped Castro in his attempts to destroy the Cuban resistance movement both inside and outside of Cuba — and has actually given American aid to communist nations helping to effect the military buildup

which has installed in Cuba, among other things, bases for missiles which can strike at the heartland of the United States.

In his October 22, 1962, speech to the nation on the “new” Cuban crisis, President Kennedy said:

“Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western hemisphere.”

Within the *past week*? For the *past two years* — and longer — people like me have been writing and broadcasting about these bases — and their obvious purpose.

Cuban Review

A review of facts, published many times in this *Report*, and elsewhere, proves beyond any shadow of doubt that the Administration — far from suddenly finding out about the situation in Cuba — has known about it, and helped create it.

In 1948, Fidel Castro, a student at the University of Havana, went to Bogota, Colombia, to participate in communist riots aimed to discredit the United States and disrupt the Ninth International Conference of American States, being held in Bogota under United States leadership. When the bloody communist riots erupted, Colombian police acted quickly to break them up. They arrested the leaders, among them Fidel Castro — a known communist terrorist who always carried a gun and who, the police believed, had murdered a nun and two priests during the Bogota insurrection.

Castro demanded, and got, release by claiming to be the bodyguard of George C. Marshall, United States delegate to the Bogota Conference.⁽³⁾

Thus claiming the personal protection of the American Secretary of State, Fidel Castro was freed to return to Cuba. Five years later (August, 1953) he led the first of a series of revolts against the Batista government. The 1953 revolt failed; but in 1956, Castro tried again.

In December, 1956, with a little band of hoodlums (among them "Che" Guevara, another widely known communist terrorist, originally from the Argentine, who had participated in riots and other violence all over Latin America), Castro sailed from Mexico and landed on the shores of South Oriente Province, Cuba.

The little gang of cutthroats took to the hills, and declared that they were leading a "revolution" to liberate the Cuban people from Batista. For food and other supplies, at the outset, they raided and pillaged and terrorized the peasants throughout the countryside.

They were nothing but outlaws until early 1957, when *The New York Times* ran three front-page articles by Herbert Matthews, editorial writer, comparing Castro with Robin Hood and Abraham Lincoln and winning him worldwide renown. The State Department sent Earl E. T. Smith (newly appointed American Ambassador to Cuba) to Matthews for a briefing, before he was permitted to go to Cuba. From then on, money and other help poured in to Castro from the United States.

The American government placed a tight embargo on all arms shipments to the official government of Cuba, and encouraged other nations to do likewise. Arms which Batista had already ordered, under treaty agreements, and which he had the money to pay for, were stopped on the docks at New York City. But our government winked at the obvious violations of its own embargo, with regard to arms and supplies going to Castro. American officialdom and the American press idolized and

lionized Castro — while condemning Batista as a bloody monster.

In the summer of 1958, Castro's hoodlums kidnapped 29 American sailors and held them as hostages for almost six weeks.

These Americans were under protection of treaty agreements between the United States and the official government of Cuba. We should have made formal demands upon the Batista government that it immediately effect the safe release of our sailors and give proper apologies and indemnities for violation of their rights and abuse of their persons on Cuban soil.

The Cuban government would have been obliged to express regret that it could not guarantee its treaty obligations to us, and would have asked us to act, in friendship to the people of Cuba and in the interest of the United States, to give aid in protecting the lives and property of Americans, since the government of Cuba could no longer provide such protection.

Then, we should have sent a detachment of United States Marines into the Cuban hills to drag those beatnik Castro punks out by their beards and turn them over to the lawful government of Cuba with formal demands that they be prosecuted under Cuban law for violating the rights of American military personnel.

What did we do when Castro kidnapped our sailors? Our State Department made a few shameful attempts to persuade Castro to release our men. But we never even scolded Castro. Indeed, we used his outrage as a pretext for refusing delivery to Batista of 15 pilot-trainer planes which Batista desperately needed, which he had already ordered and paid for, which were available and ready for shipment, and which we had already promised to deliver.

In January, 1959, Castro rode into Havana, on top of an American tank, to take over the whole of Cuba; and the Eisenhower State

Department extended diplomatic aid to him the day he arrived.

Castro immediately started seizing American property. Our government retaliated by offering him more economic aid to assist him in his "agrarian reforms."

Castro's atrocities against his own people and against American citizens; his confiscation of American property (both governmental and private); his vicious insults against the American nation and people; his efforts, with the known help of Chinese and Soviet communists, to invade other Latin American nations and to create turmoil throughout the hemisphere — all of this continued with increasing intensity; but United States official governmental aid to Castro also continued, until mid-1960.

Even as late as September, 1960, the State Department was offering to pay Castro's hotel bills in New York City!

We are still supporting Castro through international agencies whose bills we largely pay but whose policies are set by majority vote of councils in which our nation has only one vote.

Is any of this information—about Castro's communism and his aims in Cuba — derived from hindsight? No. As pointed out, our State Department has known, since 1948, that Castro is a communist.

Moreover, during the specific period of Castro's rise to power in Cuba — 1953 to 1959 — our Ambassadors to Cuba and our Ambassador to Mexico gave repeated warnings to the State Department that it was supporting, in Castro, a communist enemy of the United States, against a known friend.

Arthur Gardner, who was our Ambassador to Cuba from 1953 to 1957; and Earl E. T. Smith, our Ambassador to Cuba from 1957 to January 20, 1959 — both have testified under oath⁽⁴⁾ that the State Department

(against their earnest pleas, warning, and advice) deliberately sabotaged the pro-American regime of Batista, in order to install communist Castro in power.

Robert C. Hill, presently residing in New Hampshire and an employee of the State Government there, was an Assistant Secretary of State in 1956 and 1957. From May, 1957, to January 3, 1961, he was United States Ambassador to Mexico.

Mr. Hill has testified⁽⁵⁾ that while he was Ambassador in Mexico he gave innumerable warnings to the State Department that Castro was a communist. But his warnings went unheeded, because William Arthur Wieland was his superior in the State Department, in charge of Cuban-Mexican affairs. On one occasion, Hill gave the information directly to Dr. Milton Eisenhower (brother of President Eisenhower) who was traveling in Mexico. Dr. Eisenhower refused to listen, because Wieland, who was present, ridiculed the reports about Castro being a communist.

The facts — that Wieland claimed personal friendship with Castro; that men in the unsavory crew of Castro communists claimed close friendship with Wieland and were using his friendship to help Castro in Cuba — were given to the Eisenhower State Department, and ignored. These same facts were given directly to President Kennedy, after Castro was an acknowledged enemy of the United States; but Kennedy has hotly defended Wieland and kept him in a position of power and influence.

On January 3, 1961, the Eisenhower State Department finally broke diplomatic relations with the Castro regime. The Eisenhower Administration already had, under way, plans for an invasion of Cuba by Cuban exiles and refugees. The Cubans were being trained and equipped by Americans.

President-elect Kennedy had been fully advised of these plans, and had approved them.

Kennedy was inaugurated in January, 1961; and in April, the Cuban invasion plans went into operation.

On April 15, 1961 (a Saturday), a surprise attack by B-26 bombers, belonging to the Cuban refugees, did great damage to Castro's air force.

A second air-strike was scheduled for Monday morning, April 17, to support a landing party of about 1300 Cuban patriots. The planes (with trained Cuban pilots) were in readiness on an airfield 500 miles from the Bay of Pigs.

At dawn on Monday, April 17, 1961, the little army of invaders, carried in an assortment of eight boats, slipped into the Bay of Pigs and went ashore. They met, and severely punished, a force of Castro soldiers. Castro rushed tanks to repel the invasion. The invaders had expected this. The tanks would be easy targets for the air strike, which was well-planned and due any minute. Confidently, the little band of Cuban patriots waited, but their air support never came.

Two United States carriers, their decks loaded with fighting planes, and their crews ready, were standing by not far away. Not a plane was dispatched to help the Cuban invaders. Betrayed and left stranded on the beaches without the air support that had been prepared and committed to their operation, the Cuban invaders were cut to pieces by Castro's armor. Those not immediately murdered were captured, to be paraded ignominiously through Havana and later disposed of. After the action, Castro went to the scene of his bloody triumph at the Bay of Pigs. He was riding on top of an American tank.⁽⁶⁾

President Kennedy, who knew all about the planned invasion, had specifically sanctioned it, on Sunday, April 16. But at the last moment (on Monday, April 17, after the invading party had gone ashore at the Bay of Pigs) Kennedy not only prohibited American air sup-

port, but also prohibited the planned support from the little force of bombers belonging to Cuban patriots and manned by Cuban crews.⁽⁷⁾

On July 11, 1961—less than three months after the Bay of Pigs tragedy — Kennedy's Ambassador to communist Poland — Jacob D. Beam — ceremonially opened a new production line at the big Lenin steel works at Nowa Huta, Poland. The *New York Times* News Service, reporting this event, said:

"The new facility, the only continuous steel galvanizing line in the Soviet bloc, was built out of American machinery and financed with a \$2,500,000 United States credit."⁽⁸⁾

This plant has produced part of the essential galvanized steel which went into the missiles bases in Cuba; and we should have known the plant would do just that when we gave communist Poland the money to build the facility. Proof that Washington officialdom *knew* our money would be used to produce war goods for Cuba? On April 2, 1960, The *New York Times* carried a front-page article entitled "Cubans and Poles Sign Trade Treaty." Here are passages from the story:

"Cuba announced last night a far-reaching trade pact with Poland. . . .

"The list of products Poland will deliver includes sea-going ships and fishing vessels, planes, helicopters, complete industrial plants, steel foundries and lamination mills, sugar mills, chemical plants, power plants, industrial machinery plants, road-building equipment, textile machinery, tractors, Diesel and electrical motors and tools."

Cuba, in turn, agreed to send agricultural products to Poland — badly needed to relieve famine in that communist-impoverished land. Obviously, the more agricultural products Poland can get from the outside, the more war goods she can produce.

On October 18, Kennedy announced a gift of wheat to communist Poland, valued at

\$799,150. This announcement was made five days after Congress had adjourned — and four days before Kennedy's formal declaration about the Cuban crisis.

This gift of American wheat to Poland not only represents a treasonable giving of aid to an enemy of the United States — but also a deliberate defiance of the intent of Congress. The 1962 Act of Congress (HR 13175) which appropriated money for the foreign aid program:

"Prohibited any economic or military aid to any nation which sold, furnished or permitted any ships under its registry to carry to Cuba under the Castro regime, any arms, munitions or implements of war or atomic energy materials, or items of strategic value or of primary strategic significance in the production of arms.

"Prohibited economic aid to any nation which sold, furnished or permitted ships under its registry to carry items of economic assistance to Cuba, unless the President determined that the withholding of aid would be contrary to the U. S. national interest; required the President to report such a determination to Congress and further required publication of the report, including a statement by the President of his reasons for making the determination, in the Federal Register within seven days of its submission to Congress."⁽⁹⁾

Kennedy circumvented these prohibitions by giving the wheat to Poland under the Food For Peace Program, financed through Department of Agriculture funds.

On September 23, 1962, a well-informed investigator, who has been an expert in intelligence work in Washington for more than twenty years, reported to me about the presence of 2000 colored troops from Ghana, now training in Cuba.

These troops have already been given basic training in communist guerilla tactics and have been taught to speak French.

The basic training was given in Ghana, financed with American foreign aid money

granted to Kwame Nkrumah, pro-communist Prime Minister of Ghana.

Their eventual mission is a guerilla assault on the French-speaking negro Republic of Haiti. Their final training in Cuba consists largely of familiarizing them with the terrain and climate they will encounter in Haiti. This final phase of their training will also be financed (at least, in part and indirectly) with United States tax money, because we are still giving aid to Cuba through Paul Hoffman's Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development; and because, by paying more than our assessment in the United Nations, we are paying Cuba's United Nations bills (as well as the UN bills of other communist countries).⁽¹⁰⁾

What Will Happen?

President Kennedy appealed to the Security Council of the United Nations to convene and do something about the Soviet build-up in Cuba. The contemporary chairman of the Security Council is a Soviet national. What will he do for us?

According to the President's timetable of his own awakening, he received "the first preliminary hard information" (of offensive Soviet military build-up in Cuba) at 9 a.m. Tuesday, October 16.

An extremely well-informed, confidential source in Washington, reported to me, on October 23:

"President Kennedy has known for a long time, not only that Soviet missiles installations were in Cuba, but that they are heavily guarded, against Cubans, by Soviet or other foreign personnel. Khrushchev is evil, but not stupid. He will not put the control box for his Cuban missiles bases in the hands of an inferior maniac like Castro.

"Khrushchev holds all the cards and is calling the shots. His actions and intentions are determined entirely upon his intelligence from inside the White House about the continuing

influence and control of Rostow, McGeorge Bundy, Schlesinger, Bowles, Stevenson, and that crowd — who were, unquestionably, responsible for the Bay of Pigs fiasco.”

Indeed, the stench of the Bay of Pigs fiasco, and the Mississippi invasion, polluted the pre-election air, choking the voices of new frontier hopefuls. Kennedy had to do something. It was the election emergency that motivated the President to “act” with regard to Cuba at this time.

In his October 22 announcement, President Kennedy said:

“It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.”

What will the President do if the communists launch a *non-nuclear* attack, or a *non-nuclear* missile?

What if Khrushchev decides to lob a nuclear missile across the Windward Passage onto the Republic of Haiti, where the communists are already planning a coup? Will Ken-

nedy keep his pledge to launch an all-out nuclear war against the Soviet Union? Will he turn tail and run? Or, to save face, will he order a Korean-type police action, in which Americans will be required to die, but not permitted to win?

Immediately after Kennedy’s speech to the nation on October 22, news commentators on the scene in Washington were guessing that Kennedy would not be called upon to order the sinking of any Soviet ships, because the Soviets probably already have all the military goods in Cuba that they want and they would not, therefore, be sending any more ships.

As this is being written, however, a radio report from Moscow says the Kremlin has announced that at least one Soviet ship is on the way to Cuba and that *the United States will not interfere with it.*

Again, in the context of President Kennedy’s own statement, if the Soviets call Kennedy’s bluff, he must either start an all-out nuclear war, or turn tail and run. If he runs, it means total disgrace for the United States. If he does not run, he will initiate the disaster which all our post war foreign aid expenditures and other sacrifices of national strength and honor have, ostensibly, been made to avoid.

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The Right Course

What should the President have done? In the first place, of course, he should have supported the operation in April, 1961, which could have destroyed communist power in Cuba before we reached the present condition in which our choices are grim.

But presuming the President did not realize that action was necessary until late October, 1962 — what should he have done?

Without making any threats against the Soviets (which could leave him with the choice of total war or total disgrace), he should have launched an all-out assault on Cuba, with the best American forces, to gain control of that island, and hold it until the Cubans could choose their own government. All Soviet and other foreign military personnel should then have been expelled, and Castro and crowd turned over to the new government of Cuba for handling by legally constituted Cuban courts.

The Elections

As this is being written, practically all commentators are saying that the Cuban crisis will have a profound effect on the November elections. The general feeling is that voters, who had planned to reject new frontier candidates, will now vote for them, by way of showing "support for our President in this grave hour."

The facts and logic of the situation indicate that it was to accomplish precisely this that Kennedy decided to precipitate the Cuban crisis on the eve of the elections.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) *Dallas Times Herald*, October 6, 1962
- (2) *Dallas Morning News*, October 23, 1962
- (3) *The Story of a Revolution*, p. 7, published by *Time Magazine*
- (4) Before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on August 11 and 12, 1960
- (5) Before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on June 12, 1961
- (6) CBS News Round-Up on the Cuban Crisis, October 22, 1962
- (7) *U. S. News & World Report*, September 17, 1962, p. 41
- (8) *Dallas Morning News*, July 13, 1961
- (9) *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, October 12, 1962, pp. 1887 ff.
- (10) Debates on the United Nations "bond-issue," in the House of Representatives, *Congressional Record*, September 13, 1962, pp. 18278 ff.

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Dan Smoot was born in Missouri. Reared in Texas, he attended SMU in Dallas, taking BA and MA degrees from that university in 1938 and 1940.

In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of American Civilization.

In 1942, he took leave of absence from Harvard in order to join the FBI. At the close of the war, he stayed in the FBI, rather than return to Harvard.

He worked as an FBI Agent in all parts of the nation, handling all kinds of assignments. But for three and a half years, he worked exclusively on communist investigations in the industrial midwest. For two years following that, he was on FBI headquarters staff in Washington, as an Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover.

After nine and a half years in the FBI, Smoot resigned to help start the Facts Forum movement in Dallas. As the radio and television commentator for Facts Forum, Smoot, for almost four years spoke to a national audience giving both sides of great controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his own independent program, in order to give only one side — the side that uses fundamental American principles as a yardstick for measuring all important issues.

If you believe that Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for those who want to think and talk and write on the side of freedom, you can help immensely by subscribing, and encouraging others to subscribe, to *The Dan Smoot Report*.